INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the Greek colonists in Magna Graecia, but there is almost nothing in English about the Iapygians, the Messapians, or the Peucetians, the Italic (non-Greek) people who inhabited Apulia, the vast region of southern Italy that stretches from the tip of the heel up along the Adriatic to the bulge of the Gargano and inland to the Bradano river. Ancient authors were aware of the often fraught interactions between Italic peoples and Greek colonists. Herodotus (7.170) could write that the greatest slaughter Greeks ever experienced was when the combined forces of Greeks from Taras and Rhegium were defeated by the Iapygians of Messapia in 473 B.C.E.[1] Thucydides (7.33.4) could write of an alliance between Athens and Artas, a chieftain of the Messapians in 413 B.C.E. Pausanias, in his *Description of Greece* (10.10.6 and 10.13.10), tells of two fifth century B.C.E. monuments at Delphi set up by the Tarentines to celebrate victories, one over the Messapians, the other over Opis, king of the Iapygians, who was an ally of the Peucetians. The Italic people of Apulia, however, left no writings of their own and thus they have essentially vanished from history. Our knowledge of them today depends largely on evidence from archaeology, much of which has come to light during the past half century.

These Italic people are the principal subject of this book, and the red-figure pottery they often placed in their tombs serves as a "text" in our explorations. During the sixth and much of the fifth century B.C.E., most of their figure-decorated pottery was imported from Greece, mainly from Attica. But during the second half of the fifth century B.C.E., red-figure workshops were established at the Greek colony at Metaponto in Lucania and soon thereafter in Apulia. By the early fourth century B.C.E., these local productions, Lucanian and Apulian, had all but replaced the imported wares. While the earliest South Italian red-figure pottery was based on Attic models, images soon appeared that demonstrate the adaptation and modification of traditional forms for local purposes, and it is from

WF refers to web figures that can be accessed at www.cambridge.org/apulia. Many of the images on the web site are in color.

these new images that we can find signs of a people expressing their own sense of identity.

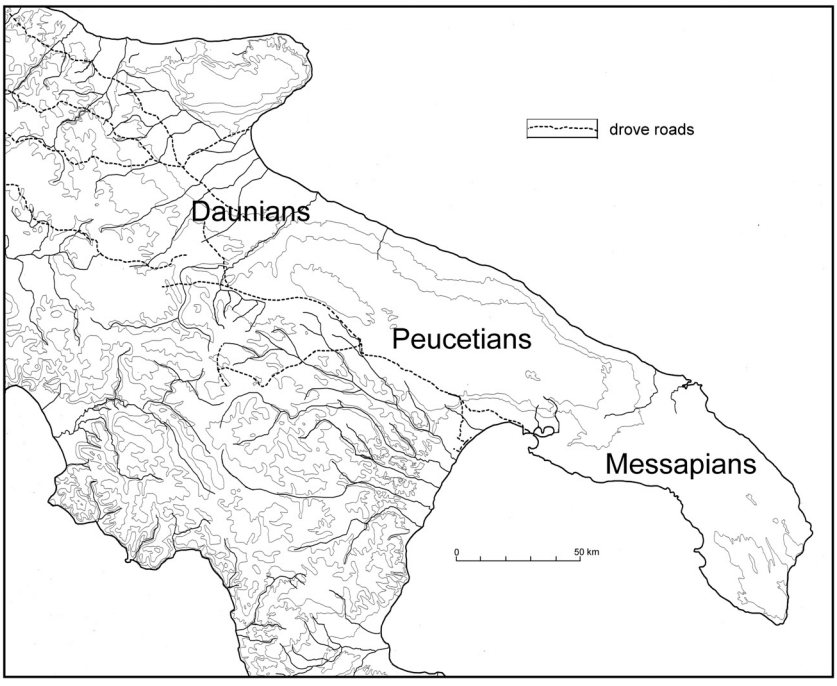
The Italic people of Apulia and the region they inhabited have been largely ignored by scholars writing in English and are absent from curricula at most British and American universities. Most published sources are in Italian. The purpose of this book, then, is to use archaeological evidence to provide English-speaking audiences with a greater understanding of these people, offering a broader view of the cultural geography of southern Italy, and to point to the potential for further study of the region's material culture.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, non-Italian scholarly interest in southern Italy focused principally on the Greek colonies and colonists. In his influential book *The Western Greeks*, published in 1948, T. J. Dunbabin did not include a single reference to an Italic site and wrote, "I am inclined to stress the purity of Greek culture in the colonial cities and find little to suggest that the Greeks mixed much with Sikel or Italic peoples, or learnt much from them."[2] Today there is still little evidence to assess whether or what the Greeks learned from the Italic people, but Dunbabin's larger message here is a dismissive one. The culmination of this celebration of the Greekness of Magna Graecia was surely the spectacular 1996 exhibition *I greci in occidente* (The Western Greeks) at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice. The 800-page catalogue of the exhibition does, at least, include some 40 pages that refer to the non-Greek (*anelleniche*) people in Magna Graecia.[3]

During the past several decades, however, archaeologists have made significant progress in revealing aspects of the Italic cultures of Apulia through the excavation of habitation sites such as Monte Sannace and Gravina and the study of unplundered tombs at sites such as Bitonto and Rutigliano, Ruvo and Conversano. Much of the work has been conducted by or under the auspices of Italian archaeologists[4] and has been published in Italian journals, which are often difficult to access outside of Italy.[5] In what follows here, essays by prominent archaeologists involved with current research at significant sites have been translated into English.

The particular focus of the book is on Apulia in the fourth century B.C.E., when the Italic culture there seems to have reached its peak of affluence. Though Greek terminology for the names of the Italic peoples of Apulia is not consistent, as Alastair Small and Mario Lombardo note in their essays, three distinct archaeological cultures are recognized to have developed by the seventh century B.C.E.: the Messapians to the south, the Daunians to the north, and the Peucetians between them. These designations will be used throughout this volume (Fig. I.1, **WF 001**).

Tombs are our richest source of evidence because of the Italic customs of furnishing burials with assemblages of objects, which could in some cases include bronze vessels and armor, and gold and amber jewelry, in addition to plain and figure-decorated pottery. In their essays Angela Ciancio, Ada Riccardi, Maria Teresa Giannotta, and Marisa Corrente demonstrate ways that funerary assemblages from different parts of Apulia can reflect a region's "ideological heritage, its social structure, its artistic traditions and its commercial relationship with neighboring communities."[6]



I.1. Map of Apulian peoples and drove roads of South Italy. Courtesy of Alastair M. Small.

From the eighteenth century to the present, Apulian tombs have been a major source of antiquities, particularly red-figure vases acquired by many museums in Europe, Australia, and the United States. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the majority of these objects were uncovered by local landowners or treasure hunters who discovered that there was a lucrative market for the goods. Sold to collectors, few of the objects in museums have any find-place associated with them, and for those that do, the reference is typically only to a general area such as Apulia, or a site such as Ruvo or Ceglie del Campo. Rarely was there any indication of funerary assemblages – objects found together in the same tomb.

Much of the South Italian collection at the British Museum, for example, derives from the objects accumulated by two avid collectors, Sir William Hamilton, British Envoy to the Court of Naples from 1764 to 1798, and one of his successors as Envoy in Naples from 1833 to 1856, Sir William Temple, brother of the Prime Minister Lord Palmerston. The provenances of the Hamilton vases are not recorded, while the majority of the objects from the Temple collection are listed as coming from a site in Apulia located in the vicinity of the modern city of Ruvo di Puglia. Unfortunately, this area of southern Italy continued in recent times to provide fertile grounds for modern tomb robbers (*tombaroli*), who usually filtered their illegal finds through Switzerland to various antiquities markets. Virtually none of the more than 1,000 Apulian red-figure vases sold at auctions by Christie's and Sotheby's between 1988 and 1999 has a known provenance, though it is certain that almost all of them came from Italic rather than Greek tombs.[7] The absence

of find spots and, even more, of tomb contexts seriously reduces the value of these objects as evidence that can be used in attempts to understand the culture of the people who chose to bury them in their tombs.

A particular focus of this book is on Apulian figure-decorated pottery with known find spots, which can be established either through controlled excavations or as a result of creative archival research for pots from early collections. The distribution of the pottery can reveal important distinctions between the people and the character of specific sites. Moreover, the figure decoration on it can serve as a kind of language that defines values and interests of the people who possessed it and, over time, it can show ways these values and interests could change.

As Maria Emilia Masci shows in her essay, Greek figure-decorated pottery, often misnamed Etruscan even into the nineteenth century, could be found in Italian collections as early as the sixteenth century, but it was only after the middle of the eighteenth century that interest in it spread to the rest of Europe. The increased interest was, in no small part, the result of the avid collecting of Sir William Hamilton, the publication of his collection managed by Baron d'Hancarville (Pierre François Hughes), and the sale of his first collection to the British Museum in 1772. Although there were some mainland Greek vases in the collection (Corinthian, Attic black- and red-figure) the majority of the vases were South Italian, coming from the regions around Naples. One third of the vases in Hamilton's second collection were lost at sea, and those that reached Britain were sold to Thomas Hope in 1801.[8] More than half of the second collection also consisted of vases made in southern Italy. By the end of the eighteenth century, collections of vases had been established in many parts of Europe, but few of these vases carried with them knowledge of their find spot or find context.[9]

The rich finds of Attic vases from the excavations initiated at Vulci in 1828 by Lucien Bonaparte changed the focus for many collectors from southern Italy to Tuscany and from South Italian to Attic pottery;[10] however, less than a decade later, a German scholar could write that Ruvo di Puglia in Apulia, where the preponderance of the vases found were South Italian, had become a new center for the discovery of vases comparable to what Vulci had been.[11]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries "South Italian might be said to have enjoyed a greater prestige with collectors than Attic,"[12] but by the end of the nineteenth century tastes had changed and Attic red-figure became the gold standard by which other styles were judged. American collections quickly developed after the founding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1870, and in both museums the vast majority of the figure-decorated vases are Attic. In Germany, Britain and the United States the interests of Classical scholars and archaeologists turned to Greece and Rome, and after the unification of Italy (*Risorgimento*) and the establishment of Rome as the capital of the new country in 1871, southern Italy was all but forgotten.

The interest of scholars and collectors in Attic figure-decorated pottery was stimulated by the work of Sir John Beazley at Oxford who adopted the Morellian technique used to identify hands of Renaissance painters to trace "the development

of Attic vase painting (black-figure, red-figure and white-ground) in terms of individual artists – master and pupil, colleagues and rivals who learned from and influenced one another."[13] For more than fifty years, starting with an article in 1910, Beazley published articles, reviews, and books refining his definitions of painters and groups, culminating in his monumental works, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (1956) and *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (1963), in which more than 100,000 vases were attributed on the basis of style.

During much of the twentieth century mainstream scholars in Britain were particularly disdainful of South Italian painting. Beazley wrote in 1932, "when we turn to the big Apulian vases of the second half of the [fourth] century, we note the slickness of hand, and we can put up with a square inch or so here and there: but it is really time that vase-painting ceased."[14] Arthur Lane never even mentioned South Italian pottery in his influential 1948 book *Greek Pottery*. The Cambridge archaeologist R.M. Cook could write in 1960 "judged by Attic standards ... the South Italians are heavy or vulgar or dull" and "the style starting as second-rate Attic, soon takes its own road or rut" and famously, "its availability, the many theatrical scenes it exhibits, and perhaps their stronger stomachs made it popular with an earlier generation of scholars. Now it is neglected" – in the 1972 edition he added the clause "except by a few specialists."[15]

The parts of the English-speaking world where appreciation of South Italian pottery seems never to have flagged are New Zealand and Australia. This is in no small part the result of the work of Dale Trendall, a New Zealander who studied with Beazley and adopted the Morellian technique for the attribution of South Italian hands. Trendall made the study of South Italian pottery his life's work, starting with an article in 1934 on an Apulian volute krater, and he continued to publish works on the various fabrics of southern Italy for six decades, including such fundamental works as *Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (*LCS*) and *Red-figured Vases of Apulia (RVAp)*. His focus remained attribution, for which archaeological context was of little use. But unlike the general neatness of Beazley's Attic groups and hands, the relationships between South Italian workshops are much more complex and resist simple descriptions, as Martine Denoyelle demonstrates in her essay where she combines stylistic analysis with considerations of provenance provided by modern research.

A revival of interest in South Italian pottery, particularly amongst American collectors, was marked by the 1982 exhibition at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond titled "The Art of South Italy: Vases from Magna Graecia," which included 161 vases from American collections.[16] The exhibition coincided with a huge surge in the number of Apulian vases sold on the antiquities market, which continued on through the nineties, and, as one scholar has noted, "it can hardly be a coincidence that this occurred at the same time as the appearance of Trendall's *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*."[17] As with Attic vases, the attribution of a South Italian vase to a specific painter or workshop could often substantially increase its sale price at auction. Unfortunately, market interest also coincided with a surge of illegal excavations and more vases without archaeological context.

Substantial amounts of fifth-century Attic red-figure pottery have been found at more than forty Italic sites in southern and central Apulia as well as at the Greek colony Taranto, though the numbers decline for Taranto after ca. 475 B.C.E. as they increase at Italic sites.[18] At least some elements of the Italic populations of settlements such as Ruvo di Puglia, Ceglie del Campo, and Gravina were exposed to a wide range of Attic images by the mid-fifth century B.C.E. if not before, and it is clear that these vases came to the settlements directly from Greece rather than via Taranto. These Italic people had developed a taste for and understanding of the language of Attic imagery, which made them particularly receptive to the Apulian vases that replaced them.

Red-figure vases were first produced in southern Italy during the third quarter of the fifth century, and from early on there appear to have been two workshops that "seem to have worked in close cooperation and either style reflects the influence of the other."[19] The earlier of the two styles is usually called Lucanian, and it is soon followed by the second, usually called Apulian. The earliest Lucanian and Apulian vases are very close to Attic vases in style, technique and shape, and it seems likely that the workshops were established by immigrants from Athens.[20] But it is important to note that while the Attic technique and style were adopted, the language of the imagery was, from the start, different. Unlike Attic vases, Apulian red-figure was rarely exported far; by one estimate only about 1 percent of Apulian vases have been found outside of Apulia,[21] and from early on Apulian and Lucanian painters seem to have been well aware of the tastes and needs of their markets.

The traditional view of South Italian pottery has been that "until about the beginning of the last third of the fifth century B.C.E. the Greek colonists in South Italy and Sicily had been content to import their red-figure pottery from Athens; thereafter they began to supplement these imports with vases of local manufacture."[22] The implication is that South Italian vases were made by Greeks for Greeks; however, some recent studies have raised questions about the accuracy of this view.

A majority of Apulian red-figure vases with provenances have been found in tombs at Italic sites, with relatively few large vases coming from the Greek cities of Metaponto and Taranto. The prevalence of Apulian vases at Italic sites led some scholars at the beginning of the nineteenth century to conclude that they were produced at Italic sites, with Ruvo di Puglia and Ceglie del Campo as favorite possibilities. The argument was that because so many of the vases are found at Italic sites and so few are found at Greek sites, it makes sense to assume they were made where they were found.[23] This view was strongly advocated by some Italian scholars, sometimes driven by nationalistic ideologies, while others, notably British scholars, saw Taranto, the one Greek colony in Apulia, as a much more likely home for Apulian potters and painters. As one scholar wrote, "the claim of Taranto lies principally in the fact of her importance and prosperity during the early part of the life of the industry."[24] For most of the twentieth century the consensus has been that Apulian vases were made only in Taranto, at least until the latter part of the fourth century.

Excavations at the Greek city of Metaponto in Lucania in 1973, which revealed several kilns and pits with wasters, some of which could be attributed to Early Lucanian painters, demonstrate conclusively that the Greek city was a center of production for at least some Early Lucanian vases.[25] In her essay, Francesca Silvestrelli discusses pottery from recent excavations at Metaponto.

For Taranto there is as yet little published archaeological evidence to support the conclusion that all Apulian red-figure prior to the 330s was produced there; however, as Didier Fontannaz demonstrates, the issue is more complex than it is for Metaponto. Apulian vases found in Tarentine tombs are generally few and small; however, enormous numbers of red-figure fragments have been found at many sites in the city. These phenomena may point to different funerary cultures, whereby the Tarentines used large red-figure vases as markers on top of tombs rather than placing them in tombs as was common with many Italic people.[26] Few of the Tarentine fragments are included in Trendall's lists, but recent reorganization of the storerooms at Taranto has made the fragments more accessible for scholarly research.

Recent archaeometric studies presented here by Ted Robinson show that the question of production may be even more complex than has been suggested in the past. The chemical analysis of clay allows some vases to have been made in Taranto but also points to the possibility that some early vases may have been produced at other sites as well. In any case, it is clear that some shapes, including the volute krater and the column krater, were produced almost exclusively for Italic markets, as Fabio Colivicchi discusses in his essay.

Until about 375 B.C.E. Lucanian and Apulian vases are often found together at sites in Apulia, but after that Apulian red-figure becomes the dominant style. More than 10,000 Apulian vases were catalogued by Trendall and his colleague, Alexander Cambitoglou, and a large percentage of those have been assigned to specific painters or workshops.[27]

Almost from the beginning of its production, Apulian red-figure pottery can be divided into two groups, usually called plain style and ornate style. The figure decoration on plain style vases, often bell or column kraters, is usually limited to three or four figures, while the imagery on ornate vases, often calyx or volute kraters, is, as implied by the name, much more elaborate and can have a dozen figures. Find contexts for Early Apulian vases, both plain style and ornate, seem to indicate that they were a commodity aimed at elite strata of the Italic populations, but after the middle of the fourth century there was an explosion into what Angela Ciancio calls "the first craft production for the masses" and a significant decline in quality. However, as Marissa Corrente discusses, even during the second half of the century some potters/painters continued to produce vases for elite populations, often very large ones featuring complex scenes from Greek myth.

As noted earlier, from the start Apulian imagery can be very different from its Attic antecedents. The imagery on Apulian column kraters is a case in point. The market for the shape in Apulia seems to have been amongst the Peucetians; of those with a known context, all have been found in Peucetian tombs, and none has been found in a Greek context. Warriors are the most common figures on them,

usually in departure/return scenes that follow the Attic model.[28] But the majority of the warriors wear distinctive Italic (non-Greek) clothing, and before the middle of the fourth century, figures wearing that clothing rarely appear on other Apulian red-figure shapes (Fig. 1.3 (**WF005**). The Italic elements in the scenes can consist of clothing (short belted tunics or loin cloths), Italic utensils (*trozzella*, nestoris), and Italic armor.[29] The shape and the technique come from Attic models, as does the treatment of the human form, but the meaning of the scene is distinctly Italic and designed for an Italic market.

The Apulian use of male nudity is another significant departure from Attic iconography. For both Attic and Apulian painters, nudity was the appropriate "costume" for heroes. On Attic pots mortal male nudes often appear together in athletic and sympotic contexts, but they are almost never shown in the presence of respectable women. On Apulian vases, however, male nudes are commonly shown with women in a variety of different generic scenes where the nudity seems gratuitous. Surely the implication is not that Apulian women regularly consorted with nude youths. In other words, it is unlikely that the images have any correlation with an experienced reality. Yet depictions of nude youths clearly had a meaning for Apulian audiences quite different from what they meant in Athens.[30]

The degree to which vase painters were influenced by the theater is another significant difference between Attic and Apulian imagery. Greek tragedy, in one way or another, was a powerful source of inspiration for some Apulian vase painters, but Attic painters seem not to have been much affected by it. Arguments about the nature of its influence on Apulian painters have raged for decades. Some have seen hints in the imagery of actual productions, while others have argued that the inspiration came only from texts. A recent moderate view suggests that we should think of the images as being "informed by the plays."[31] In any case, the fact is that most of the Apulian vases that clearly depend, to one degree or another, on tragedies have been found in Italic tombs in Peucetia and Daunia. This implies a level of sophistication amongst some parts of the Italic populations that has not been recognized in the past. Tom Carpenter, in his essay, suggests that productions by Greek theater companies might even have taken place during the fourth century B.C.E. in the rich Italic settlement of Ruvo di Puglia.

The overwhelming emphasis in the study of South Italian vases through the twentieth century was on attributing them to painters according to style, an approach traditionally called "connoisseurship." The contributions of Trendall amplified this focus, but since so few South Italian vases had known find spots or even regional provenances, the field seemed limited to these stylistic approaches. Ongoing publication of scientifically excavated tombs allows scholars to examine the imagery on multiple vases in a funerary assemblage and to consider it in the broader context of the burial itself, as Marissa Corrente demonstrates. At the same time, archival work such as that conducted recently by Andrea Montanaro on Ruvo and Didier Fontannaz at Taranto will allow the reconstitution of older tomb groups and the recovery of some contexts.[32] It is from such work that new insights into the cultures and identities of the Italic people of Apulia will develop.

Along with introducing English-speaking audiences to current research on South Italian archaeology and pottery, this volume aims to illustrate the usefulness of this evidence for addressing a variety of research questions. Key themes in contemporary archaeology – identity, ethnicity, status, social change, memory, expressions of power – can all be investigated using the rich archaeological data emerging from the area. For example, many tomb contexts are well preserved, as several chapters here demonstrate. The study of burial practices, which reflect the living as much as the dead, can provide insight into social and political changes over time as well as subtle status differences within communities. Identity, an area of study that asks how individuals actively define themselves within a society, is reflected both in burial practice and assemblage makeup and in the iconography of the vases. Both are intentionally selected, and thus project a constructed message. It is also not unusual for tombs to contain heirloom vases or other objects. Charting the frequency of these antiques may reveal periods when status required displaying one's genealogy and memory of family achievements prominently. New salvage and planned excavations in the cities of southern Italy add incrementally to the picture of settlements, and more than ever before it is possible to compare habitation and sepulchral use of objects. The complex relationship between colonial Greek sites and Italic peoples, reflected in the borrowing and appropriation of imagery and style, also provides a new arena for post-colonial studies. This volume strives to encourage scholars and students alike to explore the research potential that southern Italy offers.

Notes

1. See also Diodorus Siculus 9.52.
2. Dunbabin 1948, vi.
3. G. Pugliese Carratelli 1996, an English translation of the massive catalogue of the 1996 exhibition, *I greci in occidente* at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice.
4. Important exceptions are the work done by the British School at Rome, particularly at Botromagno (Gravina). See Small 1992 and for the University of Texas excavations at Metaponto, see Carter 1998a. See also the publications of the Accordia Research Institute at the University of London.
5. Since 1981, the journal *Taras* has included an annual survey of archaeological work in Apulia, though the reports tend to lag by two to three years. Since 1961, the superintendent of archaeology for Puglia has included a brief review of the year's significant archaeological work in *AttiTaranto*, the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia at Taranto.
6. See Riccardi in Chapter 6 of this volume.
7. Nørskov 2002; Elia 2001.
8. Tillyard 1923, 1–3.
9. Nørskov 2002, 27–80; Jenkins and Sloan 1996, 40–64.
10. Dennis 1883, 447–8. See recently Nørskov 2009.
11. Braun 1836, 162.
12. Trendall 1982, 15.
13. Robertson 1985, 19; Kurtz 1985.
14. Beazley and Ashmole 1932, 64–5.
15. Cook 1972, 191–94.

16. Mayo 1982. It is worth noting that very few of the vases in the Virginia catalogue have a provenance indicated.
17. Nørskov 2002, 266–9. Volume 1 of *RVAp* appeared in 1978, Volume 2 in 1982.
18. Mannino 2004; Di Bari 1981.
19. Trendall 1989, 18.
20. MacDonald 1981.
21. *RVAp* xlvii.
22. Trendall 1989, 17.
23. See Macchioro 1911 and Wuilleumier 1929, 1931.
24. Moon 1929, 48.
25. D'Andria 1975.
26. Lippolis 1994c.
27. Some 1,500 Lucanian vases are known. Most have been attributed to painters and workshops by Dale Trendall in LCS.
28. Carpenter 2003, 10–16.
29. Frielinghaus 1995.
30. Carpenter 2011.
31. Taplin 2007, 25.
32. Montanaro 2007.